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stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads. The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city, or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with wide stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

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701 579 laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

701 177 The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

177 The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

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643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
● 701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a ninefold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

375 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

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good by the ts'aowa group, as we have already mentioned, and the 681
accused must gradually pay off his debt to the group. The most severe punishment is probably expulsion from the ts'aowa group, which makes a man homeless.

Witnesses are not tortured. They are not /86/ examined in pub- 685
lic but in a separate room, so that they cannot be seen by the accused and thus be exposed to his revenge.

The t'ou-mu also has jurisdiction over members of another tribe 682
whom he can punish. The punishment is not, however, always recognized by the tribe to whom the convicted person belongs. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, for example, the t'ou-mu held a lama prisoner for stealing a gun. The lama belonged to the He-tso Lamasery outside Mewu territory. He had ordered the lama whipped. For this reason no male Mewu-Fantzu ventured into the region of He-tso, since he would have been in danger of being captured.

Disputes between inhabitants of various tents in the same tent 578
community are settled by the t'ou-mu or one of his kuan-shih; like- 921
wise disputes between various tent communities. In such cases violence is seldom resorted to. Disputes between the tent Fantzu and the sedentary Fantzu of the Mewu tribe are very rare. They, too, are settled by the t'ou-mu. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between Fantzu of different tribes, sometimes leading to war.

In former times wars were frequent. But the Mewu-Fantzu fought 701 ●
their last war about 30 years ago, that is, during imperial times. 721
On the other hand, a war was fought just a few years ago, about 100 li to the southwest. It lasted three years and ended only when the ruling feudal lord of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling" seized control. If a state of war arises the Huang-szu-ling calls his subordinate t'ou-mu to war. This happened, for example, during my stay when the region between T'ao-chou and Ho-chou, to which the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu and the lamaseries of Labrang and He-tso belong, was endangered by the "long march" of Mao Tse-tung's Communist Army to Shensi. The t'ou-mu recruit soldiers. Every tent must furnish at least one soldier, /87/ sometimes as many as two or three. Each man must bring his own weapons, ammunition and horses, just as in ancient times in the wars of the nomadic peoples, such as the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols. Families who cannot furnish a soldier must give weapons and guns, ammunition and a horse for those who are too poor to furnish their own equipment. The t'ou-mu decides how dangerous the situation is and how many recruits are to be called out.